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A T O R Z Plot :  
OR THE  
DISCOVERY  
OF A  
DESIGN

Carried on by our late

ADDRESSERS  
AND  
ABHORRERS,

To Alter the Constitution of the

Government,

And to Betray the

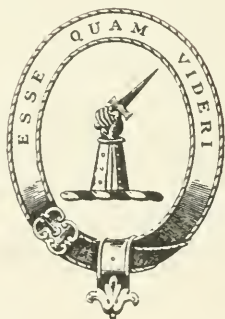
PROTESTANT RELIGION.

By *Philanax Misopappas.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for N. L. to be sold by *Richard Janeway*, 1682.





Robert Washington Oates

*Presented by*  
**ROBERT WASHINGTON OATES**

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## TO THE READER.

**I** Am so heartily desirous of an Union amongst all that go under the Name of Protestant, against the Common Enemy the Papists, that I would never have singled out any of them under so black a Character as the Title gives them, if their designs had not been so palpable, and to unite with them were not to endeavour to alter the Constitution of the Government, and to give the Protestant Religion its fatal blow. I am far from laying this charge upon all the subscribers of our late Addresses: for as there are many of them such as no good Subject would refuse to subscribe, if he did not think them needless: so I have that charity for many that were induced to subscribe even the most obnoxious, that they did it rather in complacency to the impertunity of the Promoters, than to serve any bad design. But I cannot so acquit the Contrivers of them; as none that loves the English Laws and Liberties and the Protestant Religion, will (I believe) think there is any reason I should, when he has read the following Animadversions. Whether the Presenters were chosen out of the chief of these, or whether they were but made use of like the Cat's foot, (that the odium and it may be punishment might one day rest upon them) I cannot tell: But if one may make an estimate of the Promoters in general, by some of those that presented them, Esq; Duppa will tell you they did



not very well deserve that countenance and honour that was given them for their labour. For it was somewhat pleasant to observe our young Knights ranked in the Gazette (Nov. 10. last) with Run-away servants and stray'd Horses, for not paying their Fees; and threatned, that course would speedily be taken for recovery thereof, according to His Majestie's late Order and Directions thereupon.

As to the Discourse it self, I must beg the Reader's patience while he peruses the former part of it, if he think I am too long in coming to the business: for it was necessary first to take a view of the just and orderly proceedings of the late Parliaments, if one would expose the designs of our Addressers that have loaded them with so many Calumnies. It is an undoubted priviledge of Parliament, that none should be question'd out of it for any thing spoken or transacted in it: And yet at how many Barrs have the whole House of Commons been of late arraigned and condemned? Common humanity teaches to speak well of the dead, though faulty: but to revile ones own flesh and blood when gone, though truly Loyal and faithful, is intolerable barbarity. But when his Majesty shall say to these dry bones, Live, and they shall stand upon their feet, they will be the fittest to declare their resentment of such prophane trampling upon their Ashes.

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## ERRATA.

Pag. 10. l. 15. r. Addressers. p. 16. l. 21. r. unreasonable. p. 23. l. 13. dele by.

That



**T**hat there has been a design carried on for many years of extirpating the ( miscalled ) *pestilent heresie* of Protestantism, and re-establishing the Roman Catholick Religion in these Kingdoms, none, after so evident and repeated proofs of it, can have the impudence to deny ; and least of all should we expect it of them who have pretended *that* deference to the publick judgment ( or *Conscience*, as they term it ) of the Nation, that they have delivered it as their opinion, that every private one ought to conform to it. For if the unanimous resolution of three or four Parliaments, and the sundry intimations and acknowledgments of several Proclamations are not in their opinion a sufficient declaration of the common or publick judgment, nor *that*, a competent ground to settle their belief upon, I know not what can be suppos'd to be. For though perhaps when they talk of a *publick Conscience*, they mean none but the Kings ; yet if ever the King be infallible, I would the readiest expect him to be so, when he has the concurrent advice and consent of the whole Nation. And I think it most reasonable to assert, That there is infinitely greater cause and security for conforming our *belief* to the *opinion* of the King, Lords and Commons in a matter of *fact* examined with the greatest care and scrutiny, than that our *practice* should exactly square

to their *Laws* ( be the matter of them never so controvertible ) which yet these Gentlemen will affirm hey ought to do.

Supposing then that the aforesaid Resolves and Proclamations were not made nor issued without the maturest deliberation, and fullest assurance of the truth of those Testimonies and Evidence that occasion'd them ; it cannot be reputed too great credulity to believe, that Popery was to be introduc'd by those *means* and *methods* that the discoverers of the Plot attested. Those are so well known, that I shall not need to enter upon particulars. As to *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in which the design was laid as well as in *England*, affairs have been so managed, that it is still as to us kept in a great measure secret. But as to *England*, a Nation always jealous of their Rights and Liberties, it was despaired that she would ever be *wheeled* to put on the Roman yoke ; and therefore there was no hopes of bringi g that about but by *force*. And now there wanted a plausible pretence to get up an Army. We were secure and quiet at home, and therefore no occasion for any standing Army to quell Insurrections, which was the occasion of getting one afoot in our neighbour Nation. We were at Amity with all Christendom, therefore no reason to stand upon our guard or arm for our defence. But the genius of the English being most adverse to the French, the making a show of a War with *them*, was hoped would be least opposed or suspected. And though a great many of the more sagacious could hardly believe that we sincerely intend ed to force the French to *end* that War that we had encourag'd them to *begin*, and enabled them

them with Men, Horses and Ammunition ( in abundance ) to *prosecute* : yet so apprehensive were the greater number of the danger of the growing greatness of that Monarch, and so willing to believe what they so earnestly desir'd, that not only was the King Impos'd upon by those that were about him, but the Parliament thereupon assembled, induc'd to comply with the design. Accordingly an Army of thirty thousand men or upwards is appointed to be raised, and a proportionable Tax Leavied for their Pay : But still as the Forces encreased, the more eager were our Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen* for making up a Peace. Which at last was got patch'd up with so little advantage to the Confederates, whose quarrel we made a shew to espouse, that they have lost more by the Peace than they had done by the War. And now one would have thought the new rais'd Army should have been presently Disbanded ; but as we us'd to say, It is easier to raise the Devil than to lay him again, so this Army that was got together by one Sessions of Parliament, was hardly got dissolv'd by two. But for this also there wanted not a pretence ; That it was necessary to continue in Arms till our Neighbours had disbanded, and the Articles of the Peace ( as to restoring of Towns, &c. ) fulfilled. But by this time the Vizard was pull'd off the design, and every one saw it in its own complexion. For in the mean time had the most execrable Plot that ever was contrived in the World, been discovered ; wherein having resolv'd on the Murther of His Majesty, as soon as that should be accomplish'd, and the D. of Y. should arrive at the Crown, this Army, into which many

known Papists, but more, Popishly inclin'd, had already been thrust ( and which might have been model'd at pleasure by the new Sovereign ) was to have been employ'd in this most horrid villany. Not that by this alone they could compass their ends, though there had not been a man in it but what was devoted to their Interest ( of which I believe there were many ) but this was one step towards the effecting the Tragedy of a Massacre. But besides this open Force, they had list'd under-hand a greater, of which Dr. *Oates* his Narrative acquaints you with the chief Officers. But above all, their reliance was upon the *French*, who was now got clear of the Confederates, and was at leisure to serve *their* ends and *his own* ambition. But by the good providence of God, none of those weapons that were formed against His Majesty prosper'd, but he still remains alive the protector of our Religion, Lives and Liberties. Though if any of the Instruments they employ'd had dispatcht him out of the way, they were not unprovided of a pretext to make the odium of it fall upon their greatest enemies. An intimation of which they gave us in procuring Mr. *Claypoole* to be sent to the Tower about that time, whose relation to *Cromwel* might make him to be presumed the greater Confident of his party. It was suggested he should say, That he and two hundred more had resolved to kill the King. It matters not how ridiculous such a Deposition seems at this time of day ; but if the King had been cut off before the Papists were suspected or discover'd to have such a design, there are enow who bear themselves high upon the name of *Protestants*, that would



would sooner have believed the Fanaticks to have committed the Fact, than the Papists, and would have been ready to have joyn'd with the Papists to their utter extirpation. And these Nominal Protestants are the men whose designs I shall now apply my self to trace and discover.

The Long Parliament who first made a considerable enquiry into the Popish Plot being dissolv'd, and the next that follow'd being by their sudden dissolution prevented from bringing those to their Tryals that the former had committed ; there sprang a jealousy in the hearts of many, that some about His Majesty, who influenc'd his Counsels, were either themselves concerned in the Plot, or had too great a kindness for those that were, seeing they thus obstructed the further discovery of it, and prevented the prosecution of the Conspirators. But lest this disappointment should prove fatal to His Majesty, and give the Papists and their Adherents too much scope and opportunity of still carrying on and perfecting their wicked designs, several worthy and Noble Peers out of their great affection to their Sovereign whom they apprehended in minutely danger, and zeal to the Protestant Religion and for the *English* Liberty, both which were bound up in His Majesties Life, petition'd His Majesty for the Sitting of the Third, which was chosen, but not as yet Assembled. Those that had advis'd the untimely dissolution of the former, and the prorogation of this, were alarm'd hereupon, and possess His Majesty that such petitioning was tumultuous, and contrary to I know not what Law of King *James*, and advise him to prohibit it by Proclamation. At the  
same

same time their little Emissaries were order'd to discourage it every where, and among the rest Sir *George Jefferies* here in the City, who (as the Parliament in their Address against him word it )  
 " Well knowing that many of His Majesties Loyal  
 " Protestant Subjects, and particularly those of His  
 " Majesties great and famous City of *London*, out of  
 " Zeal for the preservation of the Protestant Religion,  
 " His Majesties Royal Person and Government,  
 " and in hopes to bring the Popish Conspirators to  
 " speedy Justice, were about to Petition to His  
 " Majesty in an humble, dutiful and legal way, for  
 " the Sitting of this Parliament, the said Sir *George*  
 " *Jefferies* not regarding his duty to His Majesty, or  
 " the welfare of His People, did on purpose to serve  
 " his own private ends, and to create a misunderstanding  
 " between His Majesty and His good Subjects, though  
 " disguised with pretence of Service to his Majesty,  
 " maliciously declare such petitioning, sometimes to be  
 " Tumultuous, Seditious and Illegal, and at other times  
 " did presume publickly to insinuate and assert, as if His  
 " Majesty would deprive His Citizens of *London* of their  
 " Charters, and divers other Priviledges, Immunities and  
 " Advantages, and also of His Royal Favour, in case  
 " they should so Petition, &c ] But notwithstanding  
 " these discouragements, many Counties and Corporations  
 " did Petition the King to the purpose aforesaid ; which  
 " these Gentlemen not being able to prevent, they framed  
 " an Anti-petition, under the Notion of an Abhorrence,  
 " wherein they endeavoured as much as in them lay to  
 " induce his Majesty to conceive a sinister opinion of the  
 " honest and humble



humble desires of his most loving and loyal Subjects. And their insinuation had that effect, that it was many Months ere the Parliament was permitted to Sit. In the mean time our Pulpits began to Echo with the Mischiefs of Separation, the danger the Church and State were in from Fanaticks ; *R. L' estrange* struck up his Fiddle, and play'd us the Old Tune of Forty one ; he industriously labour'd to bring the Witnesses of the *Popish Plot* under suspicion of combination and perjury ; Sir *Robert Teomans* and Sir *Robert Cann* of *Bristol*, with *Thompson* a person fit for their Chaplain, avowedly declare, that there was no *Popish Plot* but a *Presbyterian Plot* ; and it has been the common Cry of the whole Herd from that time to this, That His Majesty and the Church of *England* was and is in as great or greater danger from the Dissenters than from the Papists. But notwithstanding all the prejudice they endeavour'd to create in His Majesty against his loving and faithful Subjects, he was so careful of his own and his peoples safety, as to assemble this long desired Parliament in *October* 80. What opinion the House of Commons had of our Abhorers, as these Gentlemen have not yet forgotten, so they have given by-standers some diversion to observe how ever since they have resented their treatment. We shall only observe what thanks the Commons con'd *G. Earl of H.* who was believed to have a principal hand in dissolving the last, and staving off the sitting of the present Parliament. In an Address against him to the King they thus express themselves : *That being deeply sensible of the manifold dangers and mischiefs, which have been occasioned*

oned to this Kingdom by the dissolution of the last Parliament, and by the frequent Prorogation of this present Parliament, whereby the Papists have been greatly encouraged to carry on their Hellish and damnable Conspiracies against His Majesties Royal Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion now establish'd amongst us, and have had many opportunities to contrive false and malicious Plots against the Lives and Honours of several of His Loyal Protestant Subjects; and having just reason to believe that the said dissolution was promoted by the evil and pernicious Counsels of G. Earl of Hallifax; Do therefore most humbly pray his Majesty — That he would be graciously pleased to remove the said G. Earl of H. from his presence and counsels for ever. But notwithstanding this Address he still keeps his station. Sir Rob. Teomans upon confessing the accusation against him and begging pardon of the House, is dismiss'd. But Sir Rob. Cann reviling his Accusers, and especially being a Parliament man, for him to be guilty of such an expression, was so great an aggravation, that being expell'd the House, he is committed to the Tower. Thompson's punishment was prevented by the dissolution of the Parliament.

And now the *Parliament* according to the direction of his Majesty, vigorously prosecute the *Plot*, try all the waies and methods whereby his Majesties safety might be ensur'd and Religion secur'd. As for themselves, they present an Address, declaring their resolution to preserve and support the King's Person and Government, and the Protestant Religion both at home and abroad; for which the King  
thankt

thankt them heartily. As to the Plot, they appoint a Committee to inspect and to take an Abstract of the Journals of both Houses, as to matters relating to it; upon the Report whereof they resolve *Nemine contradicente, That the D. of York's being a Papist, and the hopes of his coming such to the Crown, hath given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the present designs and Conspiracies against the King and Protestant Religion.* ] And, *That in the defence of the King's Person and Government, and of the Protestant Religion, this House doth declare, That they will stand by his Majesty with their Lives and Fortunes; and that if his Majesty shall come by any violent Death (which God forbid) they will revenge it to the utmost upon the Papists.* Hereupon they bring in a Bill and pass it, for securing the Protestant Religion, by disabling James D. of York to inherit the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging; but with a Proviso, that it should extend to the person of the Duke of York only. But the Lords rejecting this Bill, and thereby the most probable Expedient the Commons could think of, for the security of his Majesty and the Protestant Religion being frustrated, they then in a Committee of the whole House make these two Resolves, First, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That as long as the Papists have any hopes of the D. of York's succeeding the King in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, the Kings Person, the Protestant Religion, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of all his Maje-*



*sties Protestant Subjects, are in apparent danger of being destroyed.* ] The Second, *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, That the House be moved, nThat a Bill be brought in for an Association of all his Majesties Protestant Subjects, for the safety of his Majesties Person, the defence of the Protestant Religion, and the preservation of his Majesties Protestant Subjects against all Invasions and Oppositions whatsoever; and for the preventing the Duke of York, or any Papist from succeeding to the Crown.* ] To both which Resolves the House agreed. As to this Bill of *Association*, we shall have occasion to speak to it afterwards: but as to the Bill of *Exclusion*, we must say something of it here, the rather, because our late Addressees and Abhorers have taken occasion thence to revile this incomparably Loyal House of Commons with endeavours of subverting the Government. And I shall demonstrate both its *Legality*, its *Equity*, and its *Expediency*.

I. As to its *Legality*, I could never hear more than two things oppos'd, the *one*, that Kings holding their Crowns by right of *Primogeniture*, it is against the Law of Nature to put by the next Heir; the *other*, that it is against the Oath of *Allegiance*. The first is so silly an Allegation, that one would think no man that has heard of the several forms of Government in the World, or read the History of his own Nation, could have the confidence to insist upon it. In how many Kingdoms has force and violence and the longest Sword settled an absolute Monarchy? How oft has that yoke been shak'd off, and the Government turn'd  
into

into a Free State ? How many different models of both Monarchies and States are there at this day in the World ? and yet none of them ( that I know of ) but are, and ought to be, own'd by the Subjects for lawful Governments, and *submitted unto for the Lord's sake*. If Princes held by this right, how impossible were it for them to make out their Title *ab origine*, if questioned ? Or shall we say, that all States live contrary to the Law of Nature, because they retain not this form of Government ? What shall we say of God's giving the Kingdom of *Israel* to *saul* of the Tribe of *Benjamin* the youngest of *Jacob's* sons, or to *David* the youngest of his Father's sons, and of the Tribe of *Judah*, while none of *Reuben's* Offspring ever sat upon the throne ? Or if God may by prerogative dispense with this Law, how came *David* to put *Adonijah* by the throne, and seat *Solomon* in it ? Here in *England* King *William 2.* was King *William 1.* his third son, and yet was advanced to the Crown, and his eldest Brother *Robert* shamm'd off with a Dukedom. King *Stephen* succeeded *H. 1.* though that King had a daughter, *Maud* the Empress, then living, and *Stephen* had also an elder Brother, named *Theobald*. King *John* was admitted to the Crown, though his elder Brother's son was living. It were endless to give Instances both out of sacred and prophane History of the like nature. Away then with this extravagant fancy, and let the Sovereign Powers think their right sufficiently proved by the Law of the Land, by their present quiet possession, and the Allegiance of their Subjects. But now this

Oath of Allegiance is pretended not only to oblige those that take it, to the present Sovereign, and to his lawful Successors *after his decease*, but even in his *life-time*. To this it is obvious to say, that it is a Solecism and Non-sense to affirm that any one is a man's Heir or Successor while himself lives; for the Successor only commences such at his Predecessor's death: And therefore he that intentionally swears Allegiance to the former in the life-time of the latter, is in plain terms a Traytor. For the plain intent and meaning of the Oath is no more than this, That seeing in Monarchies that are hereditary there is no *Interregnum*, but upon the death of the present Sovereign his Successor is immediately invested in his power, it is prudently provided by this Oath that the Subjects Allegiance shall not be suspended till the new Sovereign's Coronation, that thereby the mutual stipulation might be renewed: but as the Heir's entring upon the Government does imply that he accepts it upon the same conditions as his Predecessor held it; so does this Oath as effectually bind the Subject before the Coronation as after. And hereby are very great hazards and inconveniences prevented: for *Multa cadunt inter calicem supremæq; labra*; and the Coronation being usually perform'd with great pomp and ceremony, many accidents may happen, before all things can be prepared for the Solemnity, that may require the utmost service of the people, and therefore 'tis requisite they should in the mean time be under his command. But now all the question is, Whether such a particular man has so unalterable a right to be such a ones Heir, that



that no *Crime* can forfeit that right, no *Power* annul it? What the *Crime* in our present case is, we should better have known, if the hasty dissolution of so many Parliaments, and a *Noli prosequi* had not hindred. But that we may resolve this Query, let us make a Fiction of Case. Suppose the present King and his Ancestors for several Generations sincere and hearty professors of the Protestant Religion, swearing at their Coronation that they will defend and protect it, as the most considerable branch of the Law of the Land. And suppose him that expects to be Heir, perverted from this to the Popish Religion, notwithstanding the examples of his Ancestors and the Commands of his Martyr'd Father to the contrary. Suppose his principal Servant and greatest Confident bragging of the apparent likelihood of *rooting out this pestilent Northern Heresie*, and of the zeal of his Master in the Cause; declaring that his Master's and a Neighbouring Monarch's Interest (the most dangerous enemy to his Country) are inseparable. Suppose this Confident also actually engag'd in contriving the Murther of the present Monarch, to hasten his Master's coming to the Crown. Supposing all this, we can hardly imagine a Crime to be blacker, or a person more obnoxious to a suspicion of designing the subversion of the establish'd Religion, and in it of the Government, if ever he should be seated in the Throne. So that if *any* Crimes can be a sufficient cause of Exclusion, or if *any* person can be put by his pretensions to the Crown, *these* are the Crimes and *this* is the person that demerit it. And now let us consider

der whether a Parliament have not a power to inflict such a punishment on such offences. It is from the Laws enacted by Parliament, that *such a Fact* has *such a punishment* awarded to it. That *Felonies* are punished with Death, as well as *Murder*, (though it be otherwise in many Countries, and also by the Divine Law) That *Words* without any other Overt Act are as Treasonable, and render the Speakers liable to the same death and like forfeit of Estate, as actual *Assassinating* the King would do. The Parliament can make saying that which in the nature of the thing is not impossible to be true, to be Treason. The King alone, to those offences that by the Law deserve death, can appoint banishment or perpetual imprisonment, &c. if they respect himself only; but if the people be interested, then can He with the two Houses inflict what punishment they please. They can Attaint any man, or take off the Attainder, as they see good. They can legitimate a Bastard, or illegitimate one that is born in lawful Wedlock. Of both we have Instances in *Q. Mary* and *Q. Elizabeth*, for both of them in 28 H. 8. were declared illegitimate, whereas one of them must needs be *legitimate*; and in 35 H. 8. they were both of them rendred inheritable to the Crown, which must needs be as much as legitimate, though one of them must necessarily be *illegitimate*, the latter being born, while the former's Mother was living. (For if according to the determination of the Universities domestick and foreign, the Brother, by the Law of God, might not Marry the Relict of his Brother, then King *Henry's* Marriage with  
Queen

Queen *Mary's* Mother, that had been his elder Brother Prince *Arthur's* Wife, was unlawful and consequently null in it self *ab initio*, before the declaration of it in Parliament in *Ann. 24.* of his Reign; or if it was not unlawful nor null, then must his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth's* Mother be certainly unlawful, and consequently Queen *Elizabeth* illegitimate. ) They can Divorce a man from his Wife for other causes than Adultery, so that the Parties shall be at liberty to Marry others, *Non obstante* our Saviour's declaration as to the Jewish Oeconomy; yea, they can and have granted such a power to Doctors Commons, that Impotency in the Man shall be a sufficient cause for divorce or a nullity; as we had an Instance about four years ago in one *Rowley* and Mrs. *Pitman* his wife ( And by the way, if impotency be a sufficient cause for dissolving the sacred tie of Marriage, because the main end of Marriage, the propagating mankind, is thereby frustrated: it may be equally reasonable to debar such an one the Espousal of the Government, as 'tis notorious before hand, is perverted to an utter incapacity of answering the ends of it. ) And on the other side the Parliament can grant a divorce, if the Woman be incapable of generation: and so was *Henry* the eighth in the 32 year of his Reign divorced from his Queen the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, who survived to the fourth year of Queen *Mary*, but the King married again within little more than a month after this divorce. But to proceed. The two Houses can give away the whole Kingdom to the King, so as to make him sole



sole possessor of all ; and He and they can dispose of or alienate the Crown-lands, or any branch of the King's Revenue, as they please. They can banish any man, and make him in worse condition than an Alien ; and on the other hand can naturalize any Foreigner. In a word, they have an unbounded absolute dominion over the Lives, Liberties and Estates of any *subject* in the Kingdom, and such is every one but the King himself. We have had Instances of Queens being beheaded : in relation to which we shall not need to inquire whether they were really guilty of the Crimes laid to their charge ; 'tis sufficient to observe that supposing them guilty of the Crimes, they are not exempted from the punishment. And who is nearer related to the King than she that is one with him ? who nearer allied to the priviledges of a Crown, than she that has had it set upon her head ? And if such a one may be brought to the Scaffold, and die the deserved death of a Traytor, as it is unreasonable for any other to expect to be excused, so could no man argue the high Court that condemn'd her to die, of Injustice, but rather admire their lenity and mercy, if they should mitigate the punishment, into a banishment from the Kingdom, from the Rights of a Queen and of a Consort. They that have power to inflict the greatest punishment, cannot be denied the priviledge of assigning what commutation they please. And as they are the only competent Judges what offences are and ought to be esteemed Capital ; so if they shall judge the Crime before them of an inferior nature, they may proportion the punishment at  
their

their discretion. As to our present case, we have not ( as I intimated above ) had the advantage to be fully informed of the Crime, and so cannot pass an estimate of its demerit : But if it amounted to so much as I have supposed, ( or may be more ) as it does in it self deserve, so have I shewn that the Parliament have a power to punish it with, ( at least ) an Exclusion from the Government. And thus much for the *Legality* of the Fact.

2. And as it is *lawful*, so is it an Act of the greatest *Equity* and justice in the world. For though it be very laudable and a duty for private men to forgive private injuries, and to do good for evil : yet offenders and offences against the Government, and the publick weal, are of another nature and consideration. Thus if a man assault my person, wound my reputation, trespass on my ground, or the like, it will argue a Christian temper and conformable to the holy Laws and example of our Saviour, to pass it by without requiring satisfaction or reparation. But now if one Prince make an In-road into anothers Country, and make spoil therein, satisfaction ought to be demanded and exacted both by divine and humane Laws. Or if any man or number of men endeavour the murder of the King, the subversion of the Government, or the like : in these cases the old Law still takes place, *An Eye for an Eye, and a tooth for a tooth*. Nay, if the design be laid and resolv'd upon, though not to be put in execution till after some distance of time, 'tis just to treat the designers at the same rate as if they were actually engag'd in the fact. Thus if one Prince has certain information

by some of another Prince's Cabinet Council, that that other is preparing to Invade him: it is just and lawful by the Law of Nations that he should first enter with an Army into that other Prince's Territories, and by making the seat of War there, to hinder the devastation of his own. And thus the *imagining* the King's death, or entering into consultation how to *compass* it, is as capital an offence as actual perpetrating the villany. In like manner if he that pretends to the succession, be a person, that is already engag'd in a design to alter the Government, that by the accursed tie of his deluded Conscience, and the destructive principles of his Religion has given certain notice that he thinks himself obliged to extirpate the Religion establish'd, and to persecute the resolved adherers to it to the death; what in the whole world is more equitable and *moderately* just, than that this person should be incapacitated from doing all this evil, by preventing his Accession to the Throne, which he will thus defile with blood and profane with damnable Herefie?

3. And as to its *Expediency* or policy, every man certainly must be convinced of that, that values his Religion, Life or Liberty. And here a man could not but smile (if the matter we are a speaking of, were not so serious) at the impertinence of some of *L'Esfrange's* Clergy, and others, that can object that a Bill of Exclusion is against our Religion; 'tis obvious what Religion they mean: For *Christ's* it cannot be, who came not to *divide inheritances*, and modulate the Civil Constitutions of Kingdoms: *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars*, is a plain demonstration that he intended not to give Laws to



Governments. And if these Gentlemen can think that any command or example in the Old Testament countenance their assertion, though I could never hear of any one, yet who knows not but that *our* Nation and all *other* Christian Kingdoms, have alwaies thought themselves no further oblig'd by the Civil Constitutions of the Jews, than they have translated them into those of their respective Countries? But neither is it contrary to that Religion that *these* Blades are *truly* of, and hope one day to profess publickly : For though the Papists have made themselves merry with traducing that opinion of the Puritans, *That Dominion is founded in Grace*; yet it is notorious that they hold the same opinion themselves. Every one that is vers'd in their Writings ( or has read those of our own ) must needs observe it to be their constant doctrine, that no Heretical King (and such is every one with them, that is not a Roman Catholick ) has any right to rule, but the Pope may depose him and give his Kingdom to whom he will. I mean not here to defend the Puritans opinion, especially in that sence to which it is wrested by some; but I say, the Argument is very strong and cogent *ad hominem*, That seeing in their own opinion a Protestant has no right to rule, because they believe him to be an Heretick; We may very well be permitted to prevent a Papist from ruling, who we are sure is the most damn'd Heretick in the World. And it is reasonable that men of our belief and constitution should as confidently acquiesce in an Act of Parliament, as a Papist should on the Bull of a Pope. Besides, there is something in this that may well be referr'd to the former head of *Equity*, seeing

————— *Non Lex est justior ulla,  
Quam necis artifices arte perire sua.*

No juster Law, than that a man be try'd  
By Laws which he'd have others to abide.

For there is no reason in the world a man should take advantage of a principle, which he will not allow that others should likewise improve to *their* own benefit.

It was an oracular saying of a bad man, *It is expedient that one man die for the people* : I will not blaspheme my Saviour with comparing the person now under consideration to Him, nor mean to cast an imputation upon the House of Commons, for concurring with *Caiaphas's* advice ( though being High-Priest that year he spoke as one inspir'd from Heaven ) but taking the words abstractedly, without consideration of the Speaker or the Person spoken of, nothing can be imagined more honestly and reasonably politick ; and if applied to the case in hand, nothing more expedient. For when matters are come to this pass, that *either* a Nation in *general* must be deprived of all that is dear to them, their Religion, their Liberties, and it may be their Lives, *or* that *one* man that will be the Author of all this mischief, must be put out of a capacity to effect it, though by excluding him from a Right which otherwise he were intitled to ; it needs not much deliberation what course to take, seeing I have already proved that to resolve upon this latter is not contrary to *Law*, is most consonant to *Equity*,  
and

and above all, the most *expedient*. Which last consideration I shall pursue no further, being so excellently done already in *The Character of a Popish Successor*.

Having thus vindicated the passing of the Bill of *Exclusion*, I have in doing so detected the designs and interests those have espoused, that have on this account calumniated these Honourable and Loyal Senators with endeavours to subvert the Government established, with Republican designs, with the Nick-name of *Presbyterians*, and all that's odious. His Majesty indeed has, the natural affection towards a Brother, his incomparab'e lenity of disposition, and his consciousness of having deserved so infinitely of those that seek his ruine, that he cannot easily believe there can be so monstrous ingratitude in nature; I say he has all these to Apologize for his not giving countenance to the Bill, and to keep Him in the good opinion of his Loyal Subjects: But for others that have none of these colour'd Glasses to look through, they may indeed affirm, as they do, that white is black, but they lie against the truth and their own eyes, and prove nothing with all their confident clamour, but that they are well pleas'd at the King's danger, and triumph in the hopes of a Successor for their turn. This will be more plain by and by, when I come to examine the *Addresses*, which will also give us occasion to observe the perverse construction they give of the Act for repealing 35 *Eliz*.

This Parliament indeed deserves the heaviest censure for striking down so strong a pillar of the Cause as the Lord *Stafford*, when one and thirty Lords  
had

had set to their shoulders to support it. Losers may have leave to speak, and we'll hear what they can say, when we have taken a turn to *Oxford*

This Session continued almost three months, and brought forth but three living Acts, a fourth was still-born and never saw the light. After a prorogation for a few dayes this Parliament was dissolved, and another called to assemble at *Oxford*; that seeing *Pisgah* had proved so unfortunate, it might be tryed whether *Peor* would be more favourable. It was fit the people should be minded of his Majesties Prerogative; and whatever private reasons the King might have for it, the subject had a satisfactory reason when they understood their Sovereign *would have* it so. Some insinuated to his Majesty that it was ominous; but He was not so superstitious as to apprehend any danger in going thither, tho' perhaps too apprehensive of it since his return back. There was a great concourse of people, many going thither in complement to their Member; many meerly out of curiosity, being invited with the Novelty; and some (perhaps) over sagacious, to defend the Assembly, if they should be assaulted by the Papists. The House of Commons declared to all the world (as the Speaker exprest it in his Speech at his presentment to the King) *that they were not given to change*; which was true as he meant it, seeing he had been Speaker too in the last Parliament; but was also propheticall, for they still pursued the same means for preservation of the Protestant Religion and the King's person. The Bill of Exclusion that past the House the last Parliament, is still esteemed the only thing that can do it. Sir L. J. con-  
demns



demns it of injustice, irreligion, perjury (which I think I have sufficiently vindicated it from : ) but it was observed he had no body to second him, his objections were such down-right Cant. Others of the Duke's friends finding the House absolutely of opinion that it was lawful, endeavour to stave it off by offering an Expedient that might as well answer the ends of that Bill, and not be subject to such inconveniencies. And that was, That the Duke should have the title of King, but the Regency or administration of the Kingly power, should be in the next Heir. A pretty wheedle! as if by granting the *Name* to the immediate Successor and thereby declaring that the right was in him, would not give him a fairer pretence and opportunity of usurping the *Power* likewise, than if he were excluded the title as well as administration. Besides, this Expedient is founded on this bottom, it must suppose him to be either an intolerable knave or a perfect fool, a desperate Villain or a Madman. His greatest enemies would acquit him of the latter imputation, and his friends from the former, so that the Person and the Power would soon be piec'd together. Sir F. W. said, that seeing an Act of Parliament against common sence is void, and that it were a contradiction and non-sense to make a man King and not to suffer him to exercise Kingly power; if such an Act should pass, it would signify nothing, unless it were to shew that the House of Commons were out-witted. It was clearly carried therefore that it was safer, nay that it was absolutely necessary, that the old Bill of Exclusion should be insisted on.

But

But there was another business in this Parliament that made as great a controversy, and which occasioned the speedy dissolution of it. *Edw. Fitz-Harris* had hired Mr. *Everard* to draw up a treasonable libel in the name of the Nonconformists, ( giving him instructions for it ) which was to be printed and sent about by the Penny-post to the Protestant Lords, and the Leading men of the House of Commons, &c. who were to be taken up as soon as they had it, upon hopes that upon search it might be found about them. This sham-plot being discovered to authority, *Fitz-Harris* was seized on, and committed to *Newgate*; where inclining to confess the bottom of the design, he was transmitted to the Tower. Sir *R. C.* and Sir *G. T.* give information of his confession that he had made to them, to the House. "Whereupon  
 "the House Resolve, That the same *Edw. Fitz-Harris* be impeached of High Treason, in the  
 "name of all the Commons of *England*, and that  
 "Mr. Secretary *Jenkins* do go up, and Impeach  
 "him at the Bar of the Lords House. But the Lords refused to proceed upon this Impeachment, and directed that he should be proceeded against at the Common Law. This the Commons Resolve to be a denial of Justice, a violation of the Constitution of Parliaments, an obstruction to the further discovery of the Plot, and of great danger to his Majesties person and the Protestant Religion. And indeed ( not to mention that the Bishops intermeddled in rejecting the Impeachment, in which case being Capital they had no right to Vote ) when the Upper House had made no scruple in the former  
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Parliament of receiving the Impeachment against the Lord Chief Justice *scroggs* (a Commoner) it was plain what considerations influenc'd them at this time to be of another opinion. However about twenty there were that protested against this rejection, and esteemed the Commons demand of Justice there, to be reasonable and just, and such as ought to have been granted. But a speedy dissolution soon reconciled this difference, and *Westminster-Hall* has since determin'd the controversy.

And thus having given a short account of the businesses agitated and the manner of proceeding in these two Parliaments, we shall be able to make the truer estimate of the grounds upon which some have made so bold to traduce them.

The Members were scarcely got home, but out comes a *Declaration*, charging them with *unwarrantable* and *arbitrary* proceedings: but giving assurance, that his Majesty would call frequent Parliaments, that he would make the Laws the Rule of his Government, and that he would maintain the Religion establish'd. *Many* begin to long for the performance of the first promise, that would not doubt of the two latter from so good and gracious a King, and so hearty a Protestant. But *others* by magnifying and inculcating the King's Prerogative of calling Parliaments *when* and *where* he please, seem willing to persuade Him, He may be dispensed with in the breach of it. Not that these are *greater Friends* to the Prerogative than the other, but they care *less* for Parliaments that alone can enable the King to uphold the Religion and the Government.

Out of Complement to this Declaration are *Addressers* presented from all hands ; *some* indeed containing nothing but thanks for the gracious promises therein contained, such was that from *Warwickshire, &c.* the *most*, only a Declaration that they mean to keep their Oath of Allegiance in being true and faithful to the King, his Heirs and lawful Successors : And these truly were *dignum patella operculum*, That when his Majesty had promised nothing but what he had oblig'd himself to at his Coronation, by a more sacred tie ; these to express their acknowledgment of the favour, barely say what they had formerly swore to. All this sort of Addressers might e'en as well have let the matter rested, and have concurr'd with the City of *Lincoln* in their opinion, who ( in their Address ) say, they *thought there was no better way of expressing their Faith and true Allegiance to his Majesties most Sacred Person, and their grateful sense of His excellent Government, than a peaceable and quiet demeanour in their severall Callings and Stations, an humble submission to acquiesce in his Majesties good and wholsome Laws, relating to the Government both of Church and State, and a readiness, as oft as his Majesty in his Princely wisdom judges fit to call a Parliament, to choose such Members as they conceive to be perfectly devoted to his Majesties Service, and the welfare of the Church and State, as now by Law established, without intermeddling with the Calling or Dissolving of them* ] though even these that thought thus, that they might follow the fashion, play the fool for company, as themselves render the reason of their Address. And it must certainly be from the *impertinence*

nence of this sort, that the Inns of Court, those Fountains of Law and Loyalty, disdain'd to serve up any such *Crambe*; and those two famous and *Mother* Cities, *London* and *Tork*, look'd on and had the diversion to see their *Children* act like such.

But if we have any reason to question the *discretion* of these Addressers, we have much more cause to suspect the *honesty* of the following. This kind are continually a bawling out *Whore* to others, that they may have a Monopoly of the Trade themselves. *You arraign, you asperse the Government, you reflect on Authority*, is their general accusation; whilst they do the same things avowedly in the face of the Sun. Thus *Ripon* account it a *matter of the highest joy and satisfaction, that they are deliver'd from the unwarrantable proceedings of the House of Commons*. If they have indeed proceeded *unwarrantably*, let his Majesty and They fairly dispute it in God's name at their next Meeting: but what have these Scoundrels, a Parson's Son and a company of Spur-makers, to do with it? The one might learn from his Father to keep to his Text, and the others from the Boot-maker to look to their Lasts, without calumniating an essential part of the Government. Yet the term *unwarrantable* is somewhat modest tho'; now enter jingling *Will* with his *Myrmidons*, complaining, that *the House of Commons made use of an Arbitrary and Illegal power, to the great prejudice of his Majesties Loyal Subjects, contrary to the known Laws of this Kingdom, and to the discouragement of the Members of that House, and all other Loyal Students and Practisers of the Laws*. A little discouragement will serve their turn, God knows! and if they want a



better pretence for their Idleness, they are welcome to this, let them take what course they please ; I'll warrant 'em neither *Grey's Inn* nor *Westminster-Hall* will lament the loss or much want their company. However we must acknowledge them good Proficients for their standing ; for they *know* more *Laws of the Kingdom*, than the oldest man of their House. They had done well to have particularized the Laws and the Offences ; however because the whole Gang are acted by the same Spirit, we may inform ourselves at least of the latter from *Chesterfield*, who return *Loyal thanks for his Majesties Dissolving the Parliament, and thereby preserving them from the late growing Usurpation, of Arbitrary Government, by imprisoning his Majesties Subjects, &c. Manet alta mente repostum Judicium Paridis, &c.* This usurping Parliament lodg'd five Friends in the Tower for nothing else but designing to murder the King and to alter the Government in Church and State ; Another honest Protestant, for saying there was no Popish, but a Presbyterian Plot. O Crimes unpardonable ! A third sort were committed to the Serjeants Ward for betraying the liberty of the Subject, and contributing to the design of subverting the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom and introducing Arbitrary Power. O Usurpation ! O Arbitrariness ! But what shall we think of *them* that insinuate their belief of the King's being in more danger of the Parliament, than of either Papists or Presbyterians ? Enter *Weobley* and *Richmond*. *Weobley* : *We shall still acknowledge God's goodness in blessing us with a Prince who so prudently foresaw the ruin of Your Self and us, which must have been expected from such*



unparallel'd Mischiefs which were threatned, if they had not been timely prevented (by Dissolving the Parliament.) Richmond, We Your most dutiful, &c. present to Your Sacred Majesty, from our Hearts, a more thankful acknowledgement for your most gracious late Declaration, than we can in any words express : whereby you have assured unto us, the preservation of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, that were all lately like to have been swallowed up in monstrous confusions, if the special spirit of God had not inspired Your Heart to prevent it. Here not to mention the imputation of Enthusiasm cast upon His Majesty, which such a Master of Reason would be ashamed to pretend to, what is the scope of both these Addresses but to work His Majesty into an apprehension of Treasonable and Rebellious Designs against His Person and the Government, carried on by Two Parliaments, than which none ever express a greater care and providence for the preservation of both? This is the only saving Card that the men of this Interest have to play, to make the King jealous and fearful of his Parliaments, and consequently to breed a diffidence in them of Him, that the foundations of the Government being renderd thus unsteady, they may upon a favourable juncture overturn it, and erect their own new Model. And to accomplish this design, 'tis not only the method of these whiffling Boroughs already mentioned and of others I might recite, (as *Weymouth, Thetford, &c.*) but of deeper heads: The University of Cambridge it self reflecting on these Parliaments, speaks of them in these terms: *That factions and malicious men have*

not

not proceeded to plunder and sequestration, to violate our Chapels, rifle our Libraries and empty our Colleges as once they did, next to the over-ruling providence of God, is only due to the Royal care and prudence of Your sacred Majesty, who gave so seasonable a check to their arbitrary and insolent undertaking. ] What could be spoken more malicious, or what, if his Majesty could be induc'd to believe it true, could possibly tempt him more to resolve never to put himself into the danger of the like Assembly? And that we need not question their desire and design of cashiering Parliaments, they take upon themselves a power of repealing an Act of Parliament; for they make bold to affirm, *That no Religion, no LAW, no fault or forfeiture can alter the Succession:* whereas the Statute of 13 Eliz. has made it Treason to affirm that the *L A W S* and Statutes made in Parliament do not bind the Right of the Crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance and governance thereof. It were needless to recite the like assertions in other Addresses, for these are enow to convince any man of the design, that is not engag'd in it; and those that are, will never be convinc'd but by a Parliament which in due time may perswade them to recant. And to make his Majesty more favourable to their purpose, and lest his *Wants* and necessities should be stronger Arguments to Him for assembling a Parliament ( the only Legal means of supplying them ) than *their Insinuations* for staying him from it, they first accuse the late *Sessions* for unreasonably obstructing his Majesties demands of supplies of money ( so Northumberland ) and then to put Him into a readier method of furnishing himself, the County

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Palatine of *Durham* in their late *Anti-Associations*, as they call it, thus express themselves : [ *And that we may not only verbally express our Loyalty, we do as in Duty and Allegiance bound give this Assurance, That our Lives and Fortunes sha'l be ready, and that we will CONTRIBUTE MONEY to our uttermost Abilities, when ever your Majesties occasions shall require.* ] No mention at all of a Parliament; but both by the words and the whole scope and drift of this Address, it is plain, they mean a voluntary *Contribution*, whenever His Majesty shall signify that his occasions require it. Thus by these few passages we see how industriously they are engaged in carrying on the *leading* half of the Popish Plot, viz. *Arbitrary Government*; we shall next inquire what assistance they afford the *following* half, to wit, the extirpating the Protestant Religion and introducing of Popery. And I doubt not but to make it appear, they are thorough pac'd in this also.

In the Parliament that began *Octob. 21. 1680.* there were two Bills that had each two Readings, and were Committed upon the debate of the House; the one, for Uniting of his Majesties Protestant Subjects; the other, for exempting his Majesties Protestant Subjects dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties of certain Laws: whether they would have passed or no is uncertain, however they were quash'd by the Prorogation of the Parliament. But there was a third Bill which passed both Houses, intituled, An Act for the Repeal of a Statute made in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. As the late Long Parliament re-  
pealed



pealed the Statute *de Hæretico comburendo*, for fear, if Popery should once again get the upper hand, it would be executed upon Protestants as it was in Queen *Marys* daies ; so this present Parliament, foreseeing that this Act of Queen *Elizabeth*, that was made against the *Trownists* and *Barrowists* of those daies ( as appears in the Journals of Parliament of that Queen lately published by Mr. *Starkey* ) was likely to be perverted to the ruin of the Estates, Liberties and ( it might be ) Lives of Protestants in the daies of a Popish Successor ; and thinking it prudent to provide even against the *present* dangers from the Common Enemy the Papists, by bearing a gentler hand over the dissenting Protestants, ( on whom this Act was in part executed ) and thereby uniting them more firmly in Interest and Affection with the Church of *England* ; I say, upon these considerations this present Parl. thought fit to repeal that Act of 35. *Eliz.* But at the end of the Sessions, when this Bill should have been presented ( with the others that were expedited ) unto his Majesty for his approbation and passing i into an Act, there was no sight or tydings of it. By whose default it was thus smother'd, there has been no opportunity since to find out. However some of our late Addressers throw the odium of it upon his Majesty, telling him, *That he was unwilling to pass his Royal Assent to any Act which may repeal that of 35. Eliz.* ( Vide *Kents* Address. ) How these Gentlemen come to understand the King's mind in this case, I know not : Sure I am, it is very unlikely but his Majesty would have passed this Bill recommended with the concurrent advice and consent of both Lords and Commons,



mons, if it had been tendred to Him, seeing he has alwaies profess'd so great a regard to tender Consciences, and himself from his own motion granted them an *Indulgence* against this and several other Acts of Parliament, which every one may remember how difficultly he was prevail'd with by the Parliament to retract, saying he was *resolved to stand by it*. But these men would have it believ'd that He's now otherwise inclin'd; and besides, if their Insinuations of his Majesties command to stifle it were true, it were palpable that He had shaken the very *Constitution* of Parliaments, according to which all Bills that have pass'd both Houses, ought to be presented to his Majesty. But no truly Loyal Subject will believe so gracious a King capable of being perverted to so great an Invasion of the Rights or breach of the Rules of Parliament, let such *ill-designing* flatterers suggest what they please. But where ever the fault of this miscarriage lay, our Addressers were heartily glad of it, and Petition the King that he will put this Act of 35 Eliz. in execution, *for the safety of the Church, his Majesties Sacred Person and Government*. ( So Ripon, Suffex, &c. ) They accuse the Two Houses as *enemies to our Church and Religion*, which they endeavour'd to *undermine* and *ruine* when they went about to Repeal this Act, which is a *chief Bulwark of both*. ( So Holland in Lincolnshire. ) Now one would think, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, better knew what would maintain *our Religion* than these men: but the truth is, *our Religion* is not the same with the Parliament and *them*, and so no marvel if what will maintain the one's, would *ruine* the other's. They call *their Religion* that which is *establish'd by Law*, and this they will defend with their Lives and Fortunes: In this protestation the rankest Papist in England will joyn with them, believing *Magna Charta* to be the firmest Law, and Popery to stand as unshaken thereupon as an House founded upon a Rock, for all the blasts and billows of (suppos'd) Heretical Kings and Parliaments, all whose Acts and Ordinances against Holy Church, a Papist reckons to be in themselves void. And considering all the circumstances, even a *charitable* man may be pretty

confident that this expression [Religion establish'd by Law] is commonly us'd in this sence, when he observes that a Gentleman presum'd to be no very zealous Protestant, in a late Print is represented as promising to stand by it, and to endeavour to preserve it. (But this by the way.) Hence it is that our Addressers account it *matter of highest Joy and Satisfaction to understand the King's resolution to maintain the Succession of the Crown in its due and legal course of Descent.* Oh how it tickles their fancies, to have hopes of a Popish Successor! So Ely cannot but REJOYCE to find His Majesty expressly professing himself in his own Royal Judgment so nearly concerned in Honour, Justice and Conscience to preserve the *rightful Succession of the Crown in its Legal descent.* Thus Northumberland do with the greatest TRANSPORT of JOY and THANKFULNESS return His Majesty their most humble and express acknowledgment for opposing with such incomparable resolution the Arbitrary and unnatural proceedings against the undoubted right of his Succession in the person of his Royal Brother, the greatest Example of Trust, Duty and Obedience to his sacred Majesty. They would almost persuade one, this Royal Brother absented himself from the King's Chapel in obedience to his Majesties Command: or else they will give the Dissenters leave to style themselves his Majesties most dutiful and obedient Subjects, in imitating so great an Example.——But to the Point. I said above, that the prejudices of natural affection, &c. that the King is byass'd by, may permit him to stand fair in the opinion of hearty Protestants, notwithstanding his opposing the Bill of Exclusion; and this entrailing a Popish Successor, might be *matter of their patience and submission:* but to be so transported with Joy hereupon, as our Addressers express themselves to be, is a plaintoken they never intend to be burnt for Hereticks when such a one comes to the Crown, but will (with Derbyshire, &c.) most heartily, to the utmost expence both of their Lives and Fortunes, assist, support, maintain and defend such a Successor, with the Regalia's and Prerogatives of his Crown, and the Religion and Government both of Church and State as establish'd by Law. I believe these Gentlemen are not so de-

devested of Flesh and Blood, nor have so perfectly learn'd of the Apostle *to rejoyce in tribulation*, but that Fire and Fagot would drive them into sadder apprehensions, if they knew not of a *Trick* to escape them. But *this* is the ground of their Triumph, that in such an ones Reign they shall be able to take a fuller revenge on the Schismatical Dogs, than the present mild Laws and *more* indulgent Prince will permit them. Who sees not how their fingers itch to be at it, that observes their illegal and inhumane treatment of honest and peaceable Protestants at *Bristol*, &c. even whilst Laws to punish them for such barbarities, are in force? to what Cruelties then will not their Fury carry them, when it shall be encourag'd and spur'd on by Law, and the Commands of a Jesuited King?

What shall I say of their preferring Popery before Presbytery; of their accounting *Calvin* a worse man than *Ignatius Loyola*, and his Doctrines more (or at least as) pernicious? What construction can a man put upon their increduloufness of a *Popish* Plot, that has been so sufficiently attested to be *real*; while they profess their firm belief of a *Presbyterian* Plot, that has twice at least been detected by the King and Council to be *forg'd* and *Fictitious* (in the cases of *Dangerfield* and *Fitz-Harris*) and was never yet believ'd by any Jury? What rejoycings at the acquittal of *Wakeman*, *Gascôyne*, &c. and what applause of the fairness of their Tryals! but when a Protestant comes to be acquitted, where is the man amongst them that (shall I say) is glad, nay, that does not (with *Durham* in their Anti-Association) complain of *packt Juries*, and (with the *Middle-Templers*) of *Juries perverting the Laws, and usurping to themselves an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Dominion*? Which of them exclaims not presently like *Norfolk* against *partial Grand Juries, such as can violate their Oaths, to procure impunity for Treason, and think it merit to affront and oppose the Government*? Into what Tory's Heart ever did it enter, or which of their Tongues ever made the motion, to *Abhor* the most damnable *Conspiracy* of the Papists, to Murther the King, Massacre his Subjects, and subvert the Protestant Religion? but when a *Sham-Association*, and yet



that only to *prevent* a Popish Successour's coming to the Crown, is obtruded upon the World; then, nothing but Death and the Cobler, Treason! Rebellion! Can such men think any man so blind as not to see how they stand affected? 'Twere needless to observe how generally they have got by heart *Thompson's* two Letters to prove *Sir Ed. Godfrey* Murthered himself, and of what weight those absurd and contradictory suggestions seem to them; what impressions the dying Jesuits Speeches have made upon their Consciences, and how charitably scrupulous they are grown: whilst they question not but *Colledge* dyed with a Lye in his mouth. What *Clergy-man* that has taken *L'esfrange* for his Guide (and those are more than a good many) that will confess the Pope to be Anti-Christ, or the Church of *Rome* to be Idolatrous; let *Usher*, *Mede*, *Moore*, *Stillingfleet*, &c. demonstrate it never so plainly? They must needs acknowledge, they'll tell you, that there are many corruptions in the Church of *Rome*, BUT, what Constitution is without them? They will profess their desires of an Accommodation, though they certainly know, that if such a thing ever be, Protestantism must be swallowed up in Popery; for the Church of *Rome*, as such, cannot recede from one tittle of their present Confession, unless they would let go the very foundation of it, their pretence to *Infallibility*. In a word, shew me the Tory, Clergy or Lay, that will not call the Parliament a Faction, esteem the D. a Saint, affirm the Scarcrow of Schism (upon the Punctilio's of Ceremonies) to be a greater evil than any at this Day tolerated in the Church of *Rome*, and the *five* Points agreed upon at the Synod of *Dort*, more destructive doctrine than any of the Conventicle at *Trent*.

I will not descend to the Speeches or actions of particular persons; for as that would be *tedious*, so I should think myself *injurious*, to charge upon the whole Gang the Extravagancies of a few. But the affirmations, opinions and demeanour that I have enumerated and described, are so common to all of them that I have conversed with, and are so truly and properly characteristical, that none can call me unjust, or say that I have misrepresented them. Upon  
the



the whole matter therefore, I appeal to the judgment of any unprejudic'd man, whether the persons I have been speaking of, be not designing enemies of the Power, Priviledges and Freedom of English Parliaments; and whether from their *transport of joy* at the likelihood of a Popish Successor, &c. they be not apparently Well-wishers unto Popery.

It remains that we speak a word or two of the Bill of *Association*. We observed above that when the Bill of *Exclusion* was rejected by the Lords, there was another agreed by the Commons to be brought in, (Dec. 15. 80.) *for the Associating of all his Majesties Protestant subjects, for the safety of his Majesties person, the defence of the Protestant Religion, &c. and for the preventing the Duke of York or any Papist, from succeeding to the Crown.* And about five dayes after, in an Address to his Majesty, they humbly petition him, *That when a Bill should be tendred to his Majesty in a Parliamentary way, to disable the Duke of York from inheriting the Crown, his Majesty would give his Royal Assent thereto; And as necessary to fortifie and defend the same, that his Majesty will likewise be graciously pleased to Assent to an Act whereby his Majesties Protestant subjects may be enabled to ASSOCIATE themselves for the defence of his Majesties person, the Protestant Religion, and the security of His Kingdoms.* Let any man judge whether these were not as calm, orderly and warrantable steps towards an *Association*, as any could be devised. And indeed our Abhorrrers, for all their Clamours against Associations, have not the face to say any thing against these proceedings: Only they cry, they will enter into none *without his Majesties consent*; as if the Parliament had told the King, they would enter into one *whether He would or not.* But they think they have got a better pretence for decrying and abhorring them, than these motions towards one in the Parliament, and that is, the model of one said to be found in the E. of *Shaftsbury's* Closet. Now though I doubt not but in convenient time it will be made out, as clear as a Negative can be, that that paper was *not* found there: yet for discourses sake we will suppose that it *was*. And then I say, that if there were any

any thing contained in it that were of it *self* Treasonable; I know not how it would have affected my Lord *Shaftsbury*, unless it had appeared either to have been of my Lords hand-writing, or that he had tender'd it to be subscrib'd by any one, or at least it had been prov'd that my Lord knew of its being there. None of which has been, nor I am confident can be made out by any one. And if my Lord, at whose door they lay it, be no more concerned in it; there is no colour of reason in the world to charge I know not what others for consenting to it. So that we have a great cry, and a little wool. The *Mystery of Abhorrence* therefore lies here: As the former *Addresses* were calculated against the Bill of *Exclusion*; so the late *Abhorrences*, against the Bill of *Association* that was to back it. And as both these Bills aimed at nothing else but the safety and defence of his Majesties person and the Protestant Religion, and the security of these Kingdoms, by means which the House of Commons in their great Wisdoms thought lawful and necessary for those ends: So our Addressers and Abhorrrers seem to aim at the clean contrary; For if the Papists do see the way made plain for a Popish Successor ( as these Gentlemen endeavour to make it ) his Majesties most sacred person is in continual danger of being assassinated by the desperate Instruments of the Popish Faction; which if once effected ( which the good God forbid ! ) what then will become of the Protestant Religion and the welfare of these Kingdoms, I tremble to contemplate.

But I would have all Papists to know, that we are not yet scared out of our wits with the noise of Abhorrences, nor would I have them over-confident of carrying the day, for all the interest they have made. When Queen *Elizabeth* with her Protestant Subjects were in like danger from the Q. of Scots and her Traiterous Faction ( 27 *Eliz.* ) as his present Majesty with the like subjects now are from a Parallel, we find very great numbers of the best quality spontaneously entring into an *Association*, ( putting thereto their hands and Seals ) wherein, " If her Majesty should come to an *untimely* death, they did not only bind themselves never to allow,

" &c-

“ accept or favour any such pretended Successor, BY whom  
 “ or FOR whom any such detestable Act should be Attempt-  
 “ ed or Committed, as unworthy of all Government in any  
 “ Christian Realm or Civil State: But did also further pro-  
 “ test———to persecute such person and persons to death  
 “ with their joynt and particular Forces, and to act the  
 “ utmost revenge upon them, that by any means they or  
 “ any of them could devise or do, or cause to be devised  
 “ and done for their utter overthrow and extirpation. ] And  
 “ if the Queen of Scots and her Faction should (only ) “ at-  
 “ tempt any Act, counsel or consent to any thing that  
 “ should *tend to the harm* of her Majesties Royal person, they  
 “ would with their joint and particular Forces, withstand,  
 “ offend and pursue, as well by force of Arms as by all  
 “ other means of revenge, all such persons, of what state  
 “ soever and their Abettors, and never desist from all man-  
 “ ner of pursuit against them, to the utter extermination of  
 “ them, their Councillors and Abettors. ] Now it does not at  
 all appear, that the Queens pleasure was consulted in this af-  
 fair, but that the Associators did it purely of their own heads:  
 for in those dayes there was that mutual confidence betwixt  
 Prince and people, that Loyal subjects never feared the in-  
 curring the charge of Treason for contriving and using all  
 possible means for the preservation of their Sovereign: but  
 contrarily, when this Association was turned into an Act  
 of Parliament soon after (intituled, *An Act for provision to be  
 made for the surety of the Queens Majesties most Royal person,*  
*&c.*) these Associators are therein styled, *Her Majesties good  
 and faithful Subjects*, and are acknowledged to have done  
 it, *in the name of God and with the testimonies of good consciences*.  
 But I urge not this, as if any Association were to be entred  
 into *against* the Sovereigns mind; for it is one thing to do a  
 thing *without* his Pleasure first known, and another to do  
 it *against* the signification of it: However the Association  
 proposed in Parliament, that occasioned this discourse,  
 was so far from being caried on *against* the King’s mind, that  
 we see they petition’d Him for his *assent* to it, before they  
 had made any progress in it; which as I do not know  
 that



that he has granted, so neither that he has deny'd.

To be short: As I will not take up Arms without the King's Commission, nor enter into any Association, to commence in his life-time, against his consent: So I do protest (as I doubt not, many thousands will do with me) that, if his Majesty shall come by any untimely and violent death, or shall be forced to a Resignation ( which is a Political death ) He, BY whom or FOR whom such untimely death shall be procured, or such Resignation extorted, *shall not Reign over me.* For I cannot think any man that has one drop of Royal blood in his Veins, so much incapacitated for the Crown as such a Traytor.




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**F I N I S.**

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